

"TO THINE OWN SELF BE TRUE, AND IT MUST FOLLOW, AS THIE"

BY ROBT. A. THOMPSON &amp; CO.

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## SELECTED POETRY.

From the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph.

## Be Free! Be Free!

The following extract from Hon. T. R. R. Combs' speech suggested these lines, which are respectfully dedicated to Mrs. C.

"On the night of the 5th of November, I called my wife and little ones together around my family altar, and together we prayed God to stay the wrath of our oppressors, and preserve the Union of our fathers. The rising sun of the 7th of November found me on my knees, begging the same kind father to make wrath to praise Him, and the remainder of wrath to restrain. When it was announced to me that the voice of the North proclaimed the ballot-box that I should be a slave, I heard in the same sound the voice of my God speaking through His Providence, and saying to his child, 'Be free! Be free!'"

On winter eve, around my hearth,  
My wife and children there;  
I told them of our Northern foes,  
And knelt me down in prayer.

Isaid, invoking aid from God,  
Thy will not mine be done,  
Avert the slavery of my race:  
Instruct thy erring son.

Over all around a quiet reign'd,  
That seemed to fill the air;  
The wintry blast had ceased its moan,  
And borne aloft my prayer.

The morning came, November morn,  
Bright beauteous and fair;  
Once more I called my loved ones 'round,  
Again we knelt in prayer.

In thunder tones from far above,  
A voice came unto me;  
And said in answer to my prayer,  
Child of the South, 'Be free! Be free!'"

## POLITICAL.

## EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS.

[Our readers will recollect, that, when the "Star of the West" attempted to reinforce Maj. Anderson, correspondence was opened by him with Gov. PICKENS. Several notes were then published.—The following notes, with the mission of Colonel HAYNE, explain themselves, and are most important. They have just been made public, and we strain a point to give them room.]—Ed. COURIER.

## STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

Executive Office, Charleston, Jan. 11, '61.  
To Major Robert Anderson, Commanding Fort Sumter:

SIR: I have thought proper, under all the circumstances of the peculiar state of public affairs in the country at present, to appoint the Hon. A. G. Magrath and Gen. D. F. Jamison, both members of the Executive Council, and of the highest position in the State, to present to you considerations of the gravest public character; and of the deepest interest to all who deprecate the improper waste of life; to induce the delivery of Fort Sumter to the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina, with a pledge, on its part, to account for such public property as is under your charge. Your obedient servant,

(Signed) F. W. PICKENS.

HEADQUARTERS, FORT SUMTER, S. C.,  
January 11, 1861.  
To His Excellency, F. W. Pickens, Governor of South Carolina:

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your demand for the surrender of this fort to the authorities of South Carolina, and to say, in reply, that the demand is one with which I cannot comply. Your Excellency knows that I have recently sent a messenger to Washington, and that it will be impossible for me to receive an answer to my dispatches, forwarded by him, at an earlier date than next Monday. What the character of my instructions may be, I cannot foresee.

Should your Excellency deem fit, prior to a resort to arms, to refer this matter to Washington, it would afford me the sincerest pleasure to depute one of my officers to accompany any messenger you may deem proper to be the bearer of your demand.

Hoping to God that in this, and all other matters in which the honor, welfare and lives of our fellow countrymen are concerned, we shall so act as to meet His approval; and, deeply regretting that you have made a demand of me with which I cannot comply, I have the honor to be, with the highest regard, Your obedient servant,

ROBERT ANDERSON,  
Major U. S. Army, Commanding.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE, HEADQUARTERS,  
Charleston, January 11, 1861.

SIR: At the time of the separation of the State of South Carolina from the United States, Fort Sumter was, and still is, in the possession of troops of the United States, under the command of Major Anderson. I regard the possession as not consistent with the dignity or safety of the State of South Carolina; and I have this day addressed to Major Anderson a communication to obtain from him the possession of that fort by the authorities of this State. The reply of Major Anderson informs me that he has no authority to do what I require; but he desires a reference of the demand to the President of the United States.

Under the circumstances now existing, and which need no comment by me, I have determined to send to you the Hon. I. W. Hayne, the Attorney General of the State of South Carolina, and I have instructed him to demand the delivery of Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, to the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina.

The demand I now make of Major Anderson, and which I now make of you, is suggested because of my earnest desire to avoid the bloodshed which a persistence in your attempt to retain the possession of that fort will cause; and which will be unavailing to secure you that possession, but induce a calamity most deeply to be deplored.

If consequences so unhappy shall ensue, I will secure for this State, in the demand which I now make, the satisfaction of having exhausted every attempt to avoid it.

In relation to the public property of the United States within Fort Sumter, the Hon.

I. W. Hayne, who will hand you this communication, is authorized to give you the pledge of the State that the valuation of such property will be accounted for, by this State, upon the adjustment of its relations with the United States, of which it was a part.

(Signed) F. W. PICKENS.

To the President of the United States.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, State Department,

Charleston, January 12, 1861.

SIR: The Governor has considered it proper, in view of the grave questions which now affect the State of South Carolina and the United States, to make a demand upon the President of the United States, for the delivery to the State of South Carolina of Fort Sumter, now within the territorial limits of this State, and occupied by troops of the United States.

The Convention of the People of South Carolina authorized and empowered its Commissioners to enter into negotiations with the Government of the United States, for the delivery of forts, magazines, light houses, and other real estate within the limits of South Carolina.

The circumstances which caused the interruption of that negotiation are known to you; with the formal notification of its cessation, was the urgent expression of the necessity for the withdrawal of the troops of the United States from the harbor of Charleston.

The interruption of these negotiations left all matters connected with Fort Sumter and troops of the United States within the limits of this State, affected by the fact; that the continued possession of the Fort was not consistent with the dignity or safety of the State; and that an attempt to reinforce the troops at that fort would not be allowed. This, therefore, became a state of hostility; in consequence of which the State of South Carolina was placed in a condition of defence. During the preparation for this purpose, an attempt was made to reinforce Fort Sumter, and repelled.

You are now instructed to proceed to Washington, and there, in the name of the Government of the State of South Carolina, enquire of the President of the United States, whether it was by his order that troops of the United States were sent into the harbor of Charleston to reinforce Fort Sumter; if he avows that order, you will then enquire, whether he asserts a right to introduce troops of the United States within the limits of this State, to occupy Fort Sumter; and you will, in case of his avowal, inform him that neither will be permitted; and either will be regarded as a declaration of war against the State of South Carolina.

The Governor, to save life, and determined to omit no course of proceeding usual among civilized nations, previous to that condition of general hostilities which belongs to war; and not knowing under what order, or by what authority, Fort Sumter is now held; demand from Major Robert Anderson, now in command of that fort, its delivery to the State.—That officer, in his reply, has referred the Governor to the Government of the United States at Washington. You will, therefore, demand from the President of the United States the withdrawal of the troops of the United States from that fort, and its delivery to the State of South Carolina.

You are instructed not to allow any question of property claimed by the United States to embarrass the assertion of the political right of the State of South Carolina to the possession of Fort Sumter. The possession of that fort by the State is alone consistent with the dignity and safety of the State of South Carolina; but such possession is not inconsistent with a right to compensation in money in another Government, if it has against the State of South Carolina any just claim connected with that fort. But the possession of the fort cannot, in regard to the State of South Carolina, be compensated by any consideration of any kind from the Government of the United States, when the possession of it by the Government is invasive of the dignity and affects the safety of the State. That possession cannot become now a matter of discussion or negotiation. You will, therefore, require from the President of the United States a positive and distinct answer to your demand for the delivery of the fort.

And you are further authorized to give the pledge of the State to adjust all matters which may be, and are, in their nature, susceptible of valuation in money; in the manner most usual, and upon the principles of equity and justice always recognized by independent nations, for the ascertainment of their relative rights and obligations in such matters.

You are further instructed to say to the President of the United States, that the Governor regards the attempt of the President of the United States, if avowed, to continue the possession of Fort Sumter, as inevitably leading to a bloody issue; a question which, in the judgment of the Governor, can have but one conclusion; reconcilable with a due regard to the State of South Carolina, the welfare of the other States which now constitute the United States, and that humanity which teaches all men, but particularly those who in authority control the lives of others, to regard a resort to arms as the last which should be considered. To shed their blood in defence of their rights is a duty, which the citizens of the State of South Carolina fully recognize. And in such a cause, the Governor, while deploring the stern necessity which may compel him to call for the sacrifice, will feel that his obligation to preserve inviolate the sacred rights of the State of South Carolina, justify the sacrifice necessary to secure that end. The Governor does not desire to remind the President of the responsibilities which are upon him.

Respectfully, your obedient servant.

A. G. MAGRATH.

To Hon. I. W. Hayne, Special Envoy from the State of South Carolina to the President of the United States.

WASHINGTON CITY, January 17th, 1861.

Hon. Isaac W. Hayne—

SIR: We are apprised that you visit Washington as an Envoy from the State of South Carolina, bearing a communication from the Governor of your State to the President of the United States, in relation to Fort Sumter. Without knowing its contents, we venture to request you to defer its delivery to the President for a few days, or until you and he have considered the suggestions which we beg leave to submit.

We know that the possession of Fort Sumter by troops of the United States, coupled with the circumstances under which it was taken, is the chief, if not only, source of difficulty between the Government of South Carolina and that of the United States. We would add, that we, too, think it a just cause of irritation and of apprehension on the part of your State. But we have also assurances, notwithstanding the circumstances under which Major Anderson left Fort Moultrie and entered Fort Sumter with the forces under his command; that it was not taken, and is not held, with any hostile or unfriendly purpose towards your State; but merely as property of the United States, which the President deems it his duty to protect and preserve.

We will not discuss the question of right or duty on the part of either Government touching that property, or the late acts of either in relation thereto; but we think that, without any compromise of right or breach of duty on either side, an amicable adjustment of the matter of differences may and should be adopted. We desire to see such an adjustment, and to prevent war or the shedding of blood. We represent States which have already seceded from the United States, or will have done so before the first of February next, and which will meet your State in Convention on or before the fifteenth of that month. Our people feel that they have a common destiny with your people, and expect to form with them, in that Convention, a new Confederation and Provisional Government. We must and will share your fortunes, suffering with you the evils of war, if it cannot be avoided; and enjoying with you the blessings of peace, if it can be preserved. We, therefore, think it especially due from South Carolina to our States—that she should, as far as she can, consistently with her honor, avoid initiating hostilities between her and the United States or any other Power. We have the public declaration of the President, that he has not the constitutional power or the will to make war on South Carolina, and that the public peace shall not be disturbed by any act of hostility towards your State.

We, therefore, see no reason why there may not be a settlement of existing difficulties, if time be given for calm and deliberate counsel with those States which are equally involved with South Carolina. We, therefore, trust that an arrangement will be agreed on between you and the President, at least till the fifteenth of February next; by which time your and our States may, in Convention, devise a wise, just and peaceable solution of existing difficulties.

In the meantime, we think your State should suffer Major Anderson to obtain necessary supplies of food, fuel or water, and enjoy free communication, by post or special messenger, with the President; upon the understanding that the President will not send him reinforcements during the same period. We propose to submit this proposition and your answer to the President.

If not clothed with power to make such arrangement, then we trust that you will submit our suggestions to the Governor of your State for his instructions. Until you have received and communicated his response to the President, of course your State will not attack Fort Sumter, and the President will not offer to reinforce it.

We most respectfully submit these propositions, in the earnest hope that you, or the proper authority of your State, may accede to them.

We have the honor to be, with profound esteem, your obedient servants,  
LOUIS T. WIGFALL,  
JOHN HEMPHILL,  
D. L. YULEE,  
S. R. MALLORY,  
JEFFERSON DAVIS,

C. C. CLAY, JR.,

B. FITZPATRICK,

A. IVERSON,

JOHN SLIDELL,

J. P. BENJAMIN,

WASHINGTON, January, 1861.

Gentlemen: I have just received your communication, dated the 16th instant. You represent, you say, States which have already seceded from the United States, or will have done so before the 1st of February next, and which will meet South Carolina in Convention, on or before the 15th of that month; that your people feel they have a common destiny with our people, and expect to form with us in that Convention a new Confederacy and Provisional Government; that you must and will share our fortunes, suffering with us the evils of war, if it cannot be avoided, and enjoying with us the blessings of peace, if it can be preserved.

I feel, gentlemen, the force of this appeal, and, so far as my authority extends, I most cheerfully comply with your request.

I am not clothed with power to make the arrangements you suggest, but provided you can get assurances, with which you are entirely satisfied, that no reinforcements will be sent to Fort Sumter in the interval, and that the public peace shall not be disturbed by any act of hostility towards South Carolina, I will refer your communication to the authorities of South Carolina, and withhold their communication, with which I am at present charged, will await their instructions.

Major Anderson and his command, let me assure you, do now obtain all necessary supplies of food (including fresh meat and vegetables) and, I believe, fuel and water; and special messengers with the President, and will continue to do so, certainly, until the door of negotiation shall be closed.

If your proposition is acceded to, you may assure the President that no attack will be

made on Fort Sumter, until a response from the Governor of South Carolina has been received by me, and communicated to him.

With great consideration and profound esteem, Your obedient servant,

Signed ISAAC W. HAYNE,  
Envoy from the Governor and Council of South Carolina.

SENATE CHAMBER, January 19, 1861.

SIR: We have been requested to present to you copies of a correspondence between certain Senators of the United States; and Col. Isaac W. Hayne, now in this city, in behalf of the Government of South Carolina; and to ask that you will take into consideration the subject of said correspondence.

Very respectfully, Your obedient servants,  
Signed BEN FITZPATRICK,  
S. R. MALLORY,  
JOHN SLIDELL.

To His Excellency James Buchanan, President of the United States.

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 22, 1861.  
To the Hon. Benjamin Fitzpatrick, S. R. Mallory and John Slidell.

Gentlemen: The President has received your communication of the 19th instant, with the copy of a correspondence between yourselves and others, "representing States which have already seceded from the United States, or will have done so before the 1st of February next," and Col. Isaac W. Hayne, of South Carolina, in behalf of the Government of that State, in relation to Fort Sumter; and you ask the President to "take into consideration the subject of that correspondence." With this request he has complied, and has directed me to communicate his answer.

In your letter to Col. Hayne, of the 15th inst., you propose to him to defer the delivery of a message from the Governor of South Carolina to the President, with which he has been entrusted, for a few days, or until the President and Col. Hayne shall have considered the suggestions which you submit. It is unnecessary to refer specially to these suggestions, because the letter addressed to you by Col. Hayne, of the 17th instant, presents a clear and specific answer to them. In this he says: "I am not clothed with power to make the arrangement you suggest; but provided you can get assurances, with which you are entirely satisfied, that no reinforcements will be sent to Fort Sumter, in the interval, and that the public peace will not be disturbed by any act of hostility towards South Carolina, I will refer your communication to the authorities of South Carolina, and, withholding the communication with which I am at present charged, will await further instructions."

From the beginning of the present unhappy troubles, the President has endeavored to perform his executive duties in such a manner as to preserve the peace of the country, and to prevent bloodshed. This is still his fixed purpose. You, therefore, do him no more than justice in stating that you have assurances (from his public messages, I presume), that "notwithstanding the circumstances under which Major Anderson left Fort Moultrie, and entered Fort Sumter with the forces under his command, it was not taken, and is not held with any hostile or unfriendly purpose towards your State, but merely as property of the United States, which the President deems it his duty to protect and preserve," you have correctly stated what the President deems to be his duty. His sole object now is, and has been, to act strictly on the defensive, and to authorize no movement against the people of South Carolina, unless clearly justified by a hostile movement on their part. He could not have given a better proof of his desire to prevent the effusion of blood, than by forbearing to resort to the use of force, under the strong provocation of an attack (happily without a fatal result) on an unarmed vessel bearing the flag of the United States.

I am happy to observe that, in your letter to Col. Hayne, you express the opinion, that it is "especially due from South Carolina to our States to say nothing of other slaveholding States, that she should, as far as she can, consistently with her honor, avoid initiating hostilities between her and the United States, or any other power." To initiate such hostilities against Fort Sumter, would, beyond question, be an act of war against the United States.

In regard to the proposition of Col. Hayne, "that no reinforcements will be sent to Fort Sumter, in the interval, and that the public peace will not be disturbed by any act of hostility towards South Carolina," it is impossible for me to give you any such assurances.—The President has no authority to enter into such an agreement or understanding. As an executive officer, he is simply bound to protect the public property, so far as this may be practicable; and it would be a manifest violation of his duty to place himself under engagements that he would not perform this duty either for an indefinite or a limited period. At the present moment, it is not deemed necessary to reinforce Major Anderson, because he makes no such request, and feels quite secure in his position. Should his safety, however, require reinforcements, every effort will be made to supply them.

In regard to an assurance from the President "that the public peace will not be disturbed by any act of hostility towards South Carolina," the answer will readily occur to yourselves. To Congress, and to Congress alone, belongs the power to make war, and it would be an act of usurpation for the Executive to give any assurance that Congress would not exercise this power, however strongly he may be convinced that no such intention exists.

I am glad to be assured, from the letter of Col. Hayne, that "Major Anderson and his command do now obtain all necessary supplies, including fresh meat and vegetables, and, I believe, fuel and water, from the City of Charleston, and do now enjoy communication, by post and special messenger, with the President, and will continue to do so, certainly, until the door to negotiation has been closed."

ed." I trust that these facilities may still be afforded to Major Anderson. This is as it should be. Major Anderson is not menacing Charleston; and I am convinced that the happiest result which can be attained is, that both he and the authorities of South Carolina shall remain on their present amicable footing, neither party being bound by any obligations whatever, except the high Christian and moral duty to keep the peace, and to avoid all causes of mutual irritation.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. HOLT,  
Secretary of War, *ad interim*.

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1861.

Hon. Isaac W. Hayne—  
SIR: In answer to your letter of the 17th inst., we have now to inform you that, after communicating with the President, we have received a letter signed by the Secretary of War, and addressed to Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Mallory and Slidell on the subject of our proposition, which letter we now enclose to you. Although its terms are not as satisfactory as we could have desired, in relation to the ulterior purposes of the Executive, we have no hesitation in expressing our entire confidence that no reinforcements will be sent to Fort Sumter, nor will the public peace be disturbed within the period requisite for full communication between yourself and your Government; and we trust, therefore, that you will feel justified in applying for further instructions before delivering to the President any message with which you may have been charged.

We take this occasion to renew the expression of an earnest hope that South Carolina will not deem it incompatible with her safety, dignity or honor, to refrain from initiating any hostilities against any power whatsoever, or from taking any steps tending to produce collision, until our States, which are to share her fortunes, shall have an opportunity of joining their counsels with hers.

We are with great respect,  
Your obedient servants,  
LOUIS T. WIGFALL,  
D. L. YULEE,  
J. P. BENJAMIN,  
A. IVERSON,  
JOHN HEMPHILL,  
JOHN SLIDELL,  
C. C. CLAY, JR.,

P. S. Some of the signatures to the former letter addressed to you are not affixed to the foregoing communication, in consequence of the departure of several Senators, now on their way to their respective States.

WASHINGTON, January 24, 1861.  
To the Hon. Louis T. Wigfall, D. L. Yulee, J. P. Benjamin, A. Iverson, John Hemphill, John Slidell, and C. C. Clay, jr.—

Gentlemen: I have received your letter of the 23d inst., enclosing a communication dated the 22d inst., addressed to Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Mallory and Slidell, from the Secretary of War *ad interim*. This communication from the Secretary is far from being satisfactory to me. But inasmuch as you state that "we (you) have no hesitation in expressing an entire confidence that no reinforcement will be sent to Fort Sumter, nor will the public peace be disturbed within the period requisite for full communication between yourself (myself) and your (my) Government," in compliance with our previous understanding I withhold the communication with which I am at present charged, and refer the whole matter to the authorities of South Carolina, and will await their reply.

Mr. Gourdin, of South Carolina, now in this city, will leave here by the evening's train, and will lay before the Governor of South Carolina and his Council the whole correspondence between yourselves and myself, and between you and the Government of the United States; with a communication from me, asking further instructions.

I cannot, in closing, but express my deep regret that the President should deem it necessary to keep a garrison of troops at Fort Sumter for the protection of the "property" of the United States. South Carolina scorns the idea of appropriating to herself the property of another, whether of a Government or an individual, without accounting, to the last dollar, for everything which, for the protection of her citizens, and in vindication of her own honor and dignity, she may deem it necessary to take into her own possession. As property, Fort Sumter is in far greater jeopardy occupied by a garrison of United States troops, than it would be, if delivered over to the State authorities, with the pledge that, in regard to that and all other property claimed by the United States within the jurisdiction of South Carolina, they would fully account, upon a fair adjustment.

Upon the other point of the preservation of the peace, and the avoidance of bloodshed: Is it supposed that the occupation of a fort in the midst of a harbor, with guns bearing upon every portion of it, by a Government no longer acknowledged, can be other than the occasion of constant irritation, excitement and indignation? Here is a condition of things which I fear is but little calculated to advance the observance of the "high Christian and moral duty to keep the peace, and to avoid all causes of mutual irritation," recommended by the Secretary of War in his communication.

In my judgment, to continue to hold Fort Sumter by United States troops, is the worst possible means of protecting it as property; and the worst possible means for effecting a peaceful solution of present difficulties.

I beg leave, in conclusion, to say that it is in deference to the unanimous opinion expressed by the Senators present in Washington, "representing States which have already seceded from the United States, or will have done so before the 1st of February next," that I comply with your suggestions. And I feel assured that suggestions from such a quarter will be considered with profound respect by the authorities of South Carolina, and will have great weight in determining their action.

With high consideration, I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
ISAAC W. HAYNE,  
Envoy from the Governor and Council of South Carolina.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,  
Executive Office, State Department,  
Charleston, January 26, 1861.

SIR: Your despatch has been received, covering, with other papers, the reply of the President, through Mr. Holt, Secretary of War, *ad interim*, dated the 22d of January, 1861, to the letter of Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Mallory, and Mr. Slidell, enclosing to him a correspondence between certain Senators of the United States and Col. Isaac W. Hayne; the letter of certain Senators to you, dated the 22d January, 1861, and your reply to those Senators, dated the 24th January, 1861.

In the letter of the Senators addressed to you, and dated the 15th January, 1861, after stating that the possession of Fort Sumter by troops of the United States, coupled with the circumstances under which it was taken, is the chief, if not the only source of difficulty between the Government of South Carolina and that of the United States; they add that they, "too, think it a just cause of irritation and apprehension on the part of your (this) State."

They then further state that they had assurances, notwithstanding other circumstances which seemed inconsistent therewith: that Fort Sumter "was not taken, and is not held with any hostile or unfriendly purpose towards your (this) State, but merely as property of the United States, which the President deems it his duty to protect and preserve." Under the influence of that feeling of a common destiny which now animates the seceding States; and impressed with the earnest desire which seems to have been cherished in these States; to accomplish that separation from the United States, which they regarded as essential to their welfare, without the ills which civil war produces; these Senators proposed that time should be given for calm and deliberate counsel with the States, which are equally involved with South Carolina, in the future issue of present conduct. To secure the time necessary for the counsel which should be had, they proposed that this State "should suffer Major Anderson to obtain necessary supplies of food, fuel or water, and enjoy free communication by post or special messenger with the President, upon the understanding that the President will not send him reinforcements during the same period."

No such communication was anticipated by the Governor, in the instructions with which you were furnished. But the discretion which you exercised in delaying the delivery of the letter to the President of the United States with which you were charged, under the circumstances which then existed, commands its approval to the Governor. Such a course on your part was due from this State to the representatives of those States, the people of which, in the language of their Senators, "feel a common destiny with your (our) people, and expect to form with them a new Confederacy and Provisional Government;" and who "must and will share your (our) fortunes; suffering with you (us) the evils of war, if it cannot be avoided, and enjoying the blessings of peace, if it can be preserved."

The reply of the President to the proposition thus made, referring to the statement of the intentions with which Fort Sumter is held, as derived from his "public messages," concedes its approval as stated; that is, to hold Fort Sumter "merely as property of the United States" which he "deems it his duty to protect and preserve." It is correct. He declares it to be his sole object, to act strictly on the defensive, and to "authorize no movement against the people of South Carolina, unless clearly justified by a hostile movement on their part." The President then, for proof of his desire to prevent the effusion of blood, alludes to his forbearance to resort to "the use of force under the strong provocation of an attack on an unarmed vessel bearing the flag of the United States."

Referring next to the anxious desire of the Senators of the seceding States, that this State "should, so far as she can, consistently with her honor, avoid initiating hostilities between her and the United States, or any other Power;" the President declares "that to initiate such hostilities against Fort Sumter, would, beyond question, be an act of war against the United States." And, in reply to the proposition that "no reinforcements will be sent to Fort Sumter," which is stated in his letter to be your proposition, he declares, "it is impossible for me (him) to give you (the Senators) any such assurance." He states that "he has no authority to enter into such an arrangement or understanding," and that it would be "a manifest violation of his duty to place himself under engagements, that he would not perform this duty either for an indefinite or a limited period." It is also added by him that "at the present moment" it is not deemed necessary to reinforce Major Anderson, because he makes no such request, and feels quite secure in his position. But should his safety require it, every effort will be made to supply reinforcements.

The letter from the Senators to you, and your reply to that letter, present a marked and agreeable contrast to the letter of the President of the United States. The Governor appreciates the feeling which the letter of the President must have excited in the Senators to whom it was addressed; their forbearance in the expression of their opinion fully as to its character; and their generosity in still continuing to entertain the hope, that collision may be avoided, until the States they represent may share the dangers which menace this State. The Governor concurs also in the justice and force of your reply to those Senators. The reasons which you have set forth in your reply to the letter of the Senators to you, conclusively establish the propriety of that demand which the letter from the Governor is intended to make upon the President; whether the possession of Fort